114 discussion of the Kamarakotos is otherwise based entirely on the central
101 group. 98

Census

103 The following tabulation of the inhabited places of the central group of
162 Kamarakotos was derived chiefly from the cacique, Alejo Calcaño, and the
115 subcacique Antonio Montesdeoca, repeatedly checked with them and with
125 others, including inhabitants of at least two-thirds of these places, and it is probably essentially complete and accurate as of early 1939.

103 162 551 621 622 Name of place	Head man (to⁹-esa⁹)	Number of men
KAMARATA:		
Uruyén.	Reyes.	4
Santa Marta, or Tuaibá.	Simón Bolívar.	4
Kurún-ken, or Uapináu-tepúi.	Marcelino Torres.	2
Aleuiba.	Juan José.	1
		Total in Kamarata - 11
AKANAMUINTA:		
Asakapán, or Abasakapán.	Ramón Yepes.	4
Atapá-motá.	Alejo Calcaño.	6
Ku-uepiripán, or Uepiripá.	Pedro José.	2
		Total in Akanamuinta-12
AKANAN VALLEY:		
Ibanamarú.	(Mateo Agostini.	6
	(Lorenzo. 99	3
Guaiparú.	Tomás Ribas.	4
Maibá-motá, or Maibá-pan	José Rangel. 99	4
Peipá.	Gavilán.	1
Ipupaipún.	Rolando.	4
Ayukupái.	Ricardo Pérez.	3
Uaikimba⁹.	Pablo Abari.	1
Urá-kupái.	Palacio.	2

98, 99 [see footnotes on p. 318, category 116 - Analyst]

Benné.	Lorenzo. 99	3	
Amidán.	José Rangel. 99	4	
Abaraparú.	(Not recorded.)	2	
		Total in Akanán Valley (below Akanamuinta) -	37

KARAO VALLEY:

Itoikupái.	Celestino.	2	
Oyu-uopatói.	José Dolores.	3	
Puleukepá.	Simoncito.	2	
Atabar.	Antonio Montesdeoca.	4	
		Total in Karao Valley -	11

OTHERS:

On the Kuaná River, a tributary of the Akanán - Uadekupái.	Venancio Pacheco.	2	
On the Kapín, a tributary of the Karao - Kapín.	Daniel.	3	
On the trail to Luepa - Araubái.	Faustino Rivas	2	
		Total others -	7
		Total men in central group -	78

The count of "men" includes boys roughly from early adolescence or shortly before but excludes male infants and small children. This is probably about one-third of the population, the women and the older girls forming another third and small children about a third. The total population of this region is thus about 250. It can be said to be surely not less than 200 or more than 300.[100]

It is quite impossible to judge the number of Indians on the Caroní and its tributaries who could be called Kamarakotos in a broad sense, or who might be tentatively so classified as not differing noticeably and not referable to any other Arekuna tribe. The number can hardly be less than a hundred and may be several hundred. There are also a few Kamarakotos who have emigrated outside this region, but their number must be negligible. As an estimate, or really a guess, the whole tribe may number over 300 but less than 500. For comparison, Father Baltasar de Matallana's accurate census of the Gran Sabana (1957) gives 820 Taurepánes and 264 Arekunas of the northern Gran Sabana.[101]

99-101 [see footnotes on pp. 318-19, category 116 - Analyst]

165 has very high infant and child mortality and a short life span for those who survive this period. As a general impression which could not be checked by any actual figures, the mortality at intermediate ages, say between 15 and 35, is probably relatively low.

16 With a birth rate probably about 5 or somewhat more per mature woman and a pre-maturity mortality of about 50%, the tribe should be holding its own or increasing slowly. There are no independent data to show whether this is true, but there is some reason to believe that it is true in general, over long periods, but that the tribe has decreased within the past generation or so. The desertion of the desirable upper part of Kamarata has been mentioned and the whole region is thinly populated, even by Indian standards. Without any alteration in mode of life, it could surely support several times as many Indians as are living in it, probably at least ten times as many. Several older informants agreed that the population was much more dense when they were young. They explain this by the occurrence of epidemics, and there is no reason to doubt that this is the real cause. The present birth rate and mortality figures refer to an exceptionally favorable period. There have been periodic epidemics and crop failures that have abruptly lowered the population, which then builds up again slowly during periods like the present.[102] The Indians vigorously deny that there is any significant emigration, and there is no evidence in favor of this. Among the many details that I obtained regarding size of families and the whereabouts of their members, there were a few cases of individuals leaving the central group and going to the Caroní or elsewhere in this region to live, but only one of an individual leaving the tribe altogether. On the other hand there are several Arekunas who came from elsewhere (mostly from the Gran Sabana) and joined the tribe — even one Akawai, now dead, did so in recent times. This immigration must at least balance the small emigration.

162 177 Venezuelans (aside from expeditions) have several times visited the tribe and at least two have lived there for considerable periods. One had been with the tribe for about three years at the time of our visit and had married into it. In view of the demonstrated great fertility of the women in native wedlock, it is interesting that neither he nor another Venezuelan, now dead, who married [144] a Kamarakoto woman, are said to have had any children. I have no reason to favor any one of the several possible explanations, but it is important that as far as known the Kamarakotos still do not have any admixture of non-Carib blood, although they do have some from other Carib tribes.

Names

●551 177 As shown in the list of household head-men (to'-esa', "amo de la casa") given above, most of the Kamarakotos of the central group have Spanish names.

102 [see footnote on p. 319, category 116 — Analyst]

551/177 Practically all of the adult men of this group have such names. Small children ordinarily do not and a few young men or adolescents do not. Of 23 females recorded in detail, only 6 lacked Spanish names and 4 of these were young girls. On the other hand, as far as noted, none of the allied Indians from outside the central group have Spanish names. The Indians without Spanish names at first maintained, without exception, that they had no names at all. Later, when more intimate relationships were established, it was admitted that all do have Indian names, but even then all my informants absolutely refused to reveal what these were in any instance.[103] The Indians seldom address each other by name, rarely by a Spanish name and, as far as I could learn, never by a true Indian name unless in the utmost family privacy.

551 123

The reluctance of most Indians, and especially Caribs and Arawaks, to use or even to reveal their personal names, even among Indians and of course especially to foreigners, is well known. See for instance Koch-Grünberg (1923, Vol. III, pp. 140 seq.), who found this to be true among the Taurepánes. The feeling seems to be that this name is an essential part of the personality, the ego, which suffers when it is revealed, and that knowledge of it also confers power which may be used against the owner. The Kamarakotos certainly have this feeling to a high degree. Possibly in this case it is reenforced by the desire of the cacique to make his tribe appear as "civilized" as possible and I suspect that he prohibited the revelation of any Indian names. The usual reason given, however, for refusal to reveal an Indian name was that it would "hurt" the person named.

82

Caribs do ordinarily have nicknames, as opposed to personal names, which are also generally used only rarely and with care but which are at least known to all members of the tribe. In conversation I heard Kamarakotos use words apparently of address, in some cases animal names, that I believe to be Indian nicknames, but I did not confirm this because to attempt to do so would have destroyed their frankness in speaking before me. In fact what seems to have happened in the central group is that Spanish names are now used essentially as nicknames or in substitution for Indian nicknames. Two or three Kamarakotos who had been in Venezuelan settlements claimed to have been baptized. The cacique has given names to some of his people and others have received them as presents from travelers or have conferred them on themselves.[104] Some have only one Spanish name, but others use both given names and surnames.

123 171 797 553

The European system of hereditary surnames is quite foreign to any Indians and the surnames in use among the Kamarakotos are not really employed as such, a son does not take his father's surname nor does a wife take her husband's. In one case brother and sister did use the same surname, but she retained this and did not exchange or add her husband's when she married, nor did she give her or her husband's surname to their children. Brothers do not necessarily have the same surname, nor do father and son.

551 553

103, 104 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 - Analyst]

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some
[171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent-
[124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me
[114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supernatural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they
[148] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re-
[171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds
[551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re-
[123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

[825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and
776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[152]

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

539 823

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).[1] He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 825 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

[171] [55]

539 776 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

[1] [see p. 262B, category 116 - Analysis]

197 95. The similarity is perhaps somewhat exaggerated by the fact that
648 our detailed knowledge of Taurepán is from Koch-Grünberg whose Taurepán is that of extreme southern, marginal members of the tribe, where they are in intimate contact and even mixed with Makuchis.

131 96. The fact that previous maps include too large an area in Kamarata
114 has been mentioned on an earlier page. Cardona's map (1938) shows "Camarata" as if it were a village or house and locates it outside of what is really Kamarata.

114 97. Several careful observers, speaking of places inhabited by other
161 Carib tribes, have drawn attention to the fallacy of other less careful travelers
166 who have assumed that the existence of abandoned houses is, in itself, an indication of declining population. This correction is, of course, valid since houses are frequently abandoned for reasons that have no relation to racial decline. At Uruyén, for instance, there are two abandoned buildings still standing and there are traces of several others, but there is no evidence that the population of this place (adding in the new places occupied by people who once lived here) has recently declined. But in the case of the upper Kamarata valley there is a whole area of considerable extent which was formerly well occupied and is now wholly deserted. The inhabitants might simply have moved away and doubtless some of them did, but given the desirability of the site it is unlikely that all would do so without special reason and we have the Indians' evidence that most of them died and the rest left on that account.

114 98. These statements show how misleading (even though not absolutely
101 incorrect) was Koch-Grünberg's conclusion, based on hearsay evidence, that the Kamarakotos are the Arekunas of the Caroní. The statement by Kiechers (see Linguistic References), the authority for which I do not know, that the Kamarakoto dialect dominates especially on the Paragua is entirely incorrect. In
103 passing it may be added that the generally accepted spelling "Paragua" for the name of this river is an example of false assimilation or poor colloquial phonetics. It has nothing to do with the Spanish word "agua" but comes from the Carib paraba, parava, or parawa.

● 551 99. The Lorenzos and the Jose Rangels are different men of the same name.

125 100. This way of estimating the population from the number counted by
162 the Indians as men is based on knowledge of the exact numbers of men, women, and children in many families and must be reasonably accurate. At Uruyén, for instance, a typical inhabited place, there are 13 residents of whom 4 are counted as men.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
124 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in
[262] North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call the plant kosera, the root kõsɛ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

539
[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangõi?.

191. Pangai?.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kõsera.

[482] [171] 195. akai?. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai? is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai?.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not [551] know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the